

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 102164  
ORIGIN ORM-02

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APPROVED BY:D/HA:JLCARLIN

CLEARANCES:D/HA:ORM:LOWMAN

-----051056Z 013205 /11

P 050451Z MAY 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

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FOLLOWING REPEAT GABORONE 963 ACTION SECSTATE INFO MBABANE APR 28.

QUOTE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GABORONE 0963

AIDAC

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: BOTSWANA - FY 77 SSA PROGRAM

REF: A) STATE 83361, B) STATE 091547, C) BABORONE 908

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AS INSTRUCTED IN REF A, WE DISCUSSED WITH GOB ON APRIL 15 PROPOSED REPROGRAMMING OF \$7 MILLION BALANCE OF FY 77 FUNDS FOR GOB REFUGEE-RELATED PROJECTS. WE ARE AWAITING GOB RESPONSE AND REQUESTS FOR SPECIFIC PROGRAMS. DISCUSSION AND REACTION REPORTED REF C. CHANGES SUGGESTED REF B WOULD NOW ALTER THOSE PROPOSALS IN SIGNIFICANT WAYS LEAVING THEM ON BALANCE LESS REPONSIVE TO GOB PRIORITES AND NEEDS. TO MAINTAIN CURRENT MOMENTUM AND CREATE GOB CONFIDENCE, WE REQUEST THAT PROGRAM OUTLINED REFS A AND C BE RESPECTED. END SUMMARY.

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2. AN INTRODUCTORY WORD ON THE CURRENT CLIMATE RE USAID PROGRAM FOR FY 77 IS PERHAPS IN ORDER. THUS FAR, DESPITE NUMEROUS REQUESTS, DISCUSSIONS AND STUDY MISSIONS, THE US HAS NOT YET MADE ANY IDENTIFIABLE CONTRIBUTION TO RELIEF OF BOTSWANA'S PRESSING REFUGEE PROBLEMS. REF A WAS WELCOME AS FIRST AUTHORITITATIVE INFORMATION THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO ACT. THAT INFORMATION WAS CONVEYED IN

ACCORDANCE REF A. GOB RESPONSE WAS ONE OF GREAT SATISFACTION; FORMAL REQUESTS ARE BEING PREPARED. REF B WOULD NOW REQUIRE OUT GOING BACK TO GOB AND SUGGESTING CHANGES WE BELIEVE WOULD BE REGARDED AS SIGNIFICANT DOWNGRADING OF OUR EFFORT -- TO THE POINT IT WOULD IMPAIR CONFIDENCE IN US AND IN EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR ASSISTANCE TO BOTSWANA.

3. CHANGES (PROPOSED BY REF B) CAN BE SUMMARIZED UNDER THREE HEADINGS: FIRST, THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW, UNTRIED IN BOTSWANA AND (WE BELIEVE) LESS EFFICIENT MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAMS; SECOND, THE ADDITION OF PROGRAMS OF LESS THAN TOP PRIORITY INTEREST TO GOB, AND WITH (AT BEST) UNCERTAIN RELATIONSHIP TO REFUGEE PROBLEM; THIRD, THE DECREASE IN THE AMOUNTS OF AID PREVIOUSLY INDICATED AS AVAILABLE.

4. AVENUES OF IMPLEMENTATION. WE BELIEVE THE MOST SERIOUS CHANGE IS PROPOSAL TO CHANNEL REFUGEE RELIEF THROUGH THIRD PARTIES. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF OBSERVING AND WORKING WITH UNHCR, WE HAVE REASON TO QUESTION ITS CAPACITY AND EFFICIENCY. IN CONSISTS OF TWO-MAN OFFICE THAT SERVES AS LIAISON WITH GOB AND DOES NOT CONDUCT OPERATIONS OF ITS OWN. DESPITE OUR PRODDING, FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE NO INDICATION THAT UNHCR HAS YET AUTHORIZED DISBURSEMENT OF \$36,000 THE USG EARMARKED FOR FRANCISTOWN REFUGEES. IN ANY EVENT, AND EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT, THERE HAS BEEN NO (REPEAT NO) PUBLIC ASSOCIATION OF US WITH ANY CONTRIBUTION. WE UNDERSTAND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE URGENCY OF OBLIGATING FUNDS, E.G., TO STATE/IO, AND THENCE TO "UN COORDINATING AGENCY" AS A MEANS OF MEETING FARAH MISSION RECOMMENDATIONS. THE EFFECT IS TO ADD ANOTHER LAYER OF INTERMEDIARIES THAT WOULD DELAY THE US CONTRIBUTION AND OBSCURE ITS ORIGIN AND IMPACT. (I APPRECIATE THE SUGGESTION THAT I MIGHT BE AUTHORIZED TO INFORM GOB "WHEN GRANT IS MADE"; OUR EXPERIENCE WITH UNHCR ON \$36,000 FOR REFUGEES SHOWS THERE IS INEVITABLE GAP BETWEEN SUCH A GRANT AND ITS AVAILABILITY TO GOB.)

5. PROGRAMS. THE ADDED PROGRAMS (REF B) INCLUDE "MISCELLANEOUS PVOS \$350,000". WE UNDERSTAND PVO PROJECTS MUST ALSO BE PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROGRAM DOCUMENTATION PROCEDURES. THIS WOULD APPEAR TO MEAN, IN FACT, INTRODUCTION OF NEW ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL NOT NOW IN COUNTRY, ALL OF WHICH MAKES RAPID OBLIGATION BY THIS MEANS MOST UNLIKELY. SIMILARLY. WHILE WE APPLAUD THE IDEA OF MORE DIRECT RELIEF OF REFUGEE NEEDS, WE DOUBT THAT BOTSWANA COUNCIL FOR

REFUGEES (WHOSE TOTAL BUDGET IN CY 76 WAS \$120,000) IS BEST EQUIPPED TO ASSURE EXPEDITIOUS HANDLING OF \$350,000 IN RELIEF FUNDS. WE PREFER USING GOB CHANNELS -- AS MOST OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE DONE. IN FACT, UNDERLYING OUR RECOMMENDATIONS UNDER THIS HEADING IS A DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN GOB ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY, NOT FILTER OR CUSTION IT. REFUGEE MATTERS ARE INTENSELY POLITICAL; NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE, E.G., BY AN UNPRECEDENTED SHIFT OF \$350,000 (AND CORRESPONDING POWER) TO AN INFORMAL, AD HOC PRIVATE GROUP, THAT WOULD REMOVE THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY FROM WHERE IT BELONGS, NAMELY, WITH THIS GOVERNMENT. OTHER PROGRAMS WHOSE LISTING IN THIS FY 77 PROGRAM WOULD SURPRISE GOB ARE CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT AND HIG TA SUPPORT. WHILE OF INTEREST, THESE ARE NOT OF PRIORITY NATURE COMPARED WITH URGENT REFUGEE PROJECTS THAT GOB WOULD LIKE SUBTRACTED FROM OVERALL \$10 MILLION. FINALLY, PROPOSED FUNDING OF GRAIN RESERVE PROGRAM DOES NOT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REMAIN AMONG GOB TOP PRIORITIES. AS REPORTED REF C (PARA 5D), GOB SPOKESMAN CONSIDERED THE COMPLEXITIES AND EFFECTS ON AGRICULTURE AND DECIDED TO "KEEP IT UNDER REVIEW". AS A RESULT IT WOULD, IN OUR OPINION, BE INAPPROPRIATE TO INCLUDE IT IN PRESENT PROGRAM PROPOSALS (DESPITE FACT IT IS IN FARAH MISSION REPORT).

6. AMOUNTS. WE NOTE THAT UNIVERSITY ASSISTANCE (\$1.4 MILLION) IS NOW INCORPORATED WITHIN \$10 MILLION TOTAL; THIS WAS FORMERLY SEPARATE AND, FROM PREVIOUS INSTRUCTION (76 STATE 290244), WE UNDERSTOOD WAS ASSURED. THIS REPRESENTS A LOSS WHICH WOULD ALTER THE FIGURES AND PROPOSALS OFFICIALLY ADVANCED TO GOB ON APRIL 15 (REF C) ON WHICH GOB IS DEVELOPING REQUESTS. WE BELIEVE IT HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENCE IN OUR RELATIONS; THIS MEANS ADHERING TO WHAT WE HAVE OFFERED AND DISCUSSED.

7. AS NOTED ABOVE, WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT A RESPECTBLE PROGRAM TO MEET CURRENT GOB NEEDS SEEMS ASSURED. WE STRONGLY URGE THAT DIRECT, BILATERAL CHANNELS BE MAINTAINED AS THE MOST EFFICIENT MANNER OF CARRYING OUT THE PROGRAMS AND THAT WE HOLD TO SUBSTANCE OF PROGRAM AS OUTLINED REFS A AND C.  
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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
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